1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

GENEALOGIES.

THE genealogies on the next two pages show the relationship existing between the various individuals of the three Vedda communities, which still retain enough of the old Vedda mode of life to make a study of their organization valuable. At the first glance it is obvious that these genealogies do not go back beyond the memory of middle-aged men of the present day. We are convinced that this is due, not to any general distrust of our inquiries, but simply to certain peculiarities of the Vedda habit of thought which is directly dependent on their mode of life. The first of these is the extraordinary lack of memory shown by every Vedda for the names of individuals of more than one generation older than himself. This may perhaps be due to the fact that the number of individuals whom any one knows well is really small, being necessarily limited to the community to which he himself belongs. The genealogies show how small are these communities and, since every Vedda should marry a first cousin, marriage does little or nothing to enlarge the number of his connections. Further, each of the people with whom he comes in contact is related to him in a definite manner and is called and spoken of by a definite kinship term, so that personal names come to play a very small part in the daily life of the Veddas. It is this, doubtless, that has led to the frequent persistence of the baby names Tuta and Tuti, "little one" in its male and female forms, as the only names by which many individuals are known, and this together with the number of children called by

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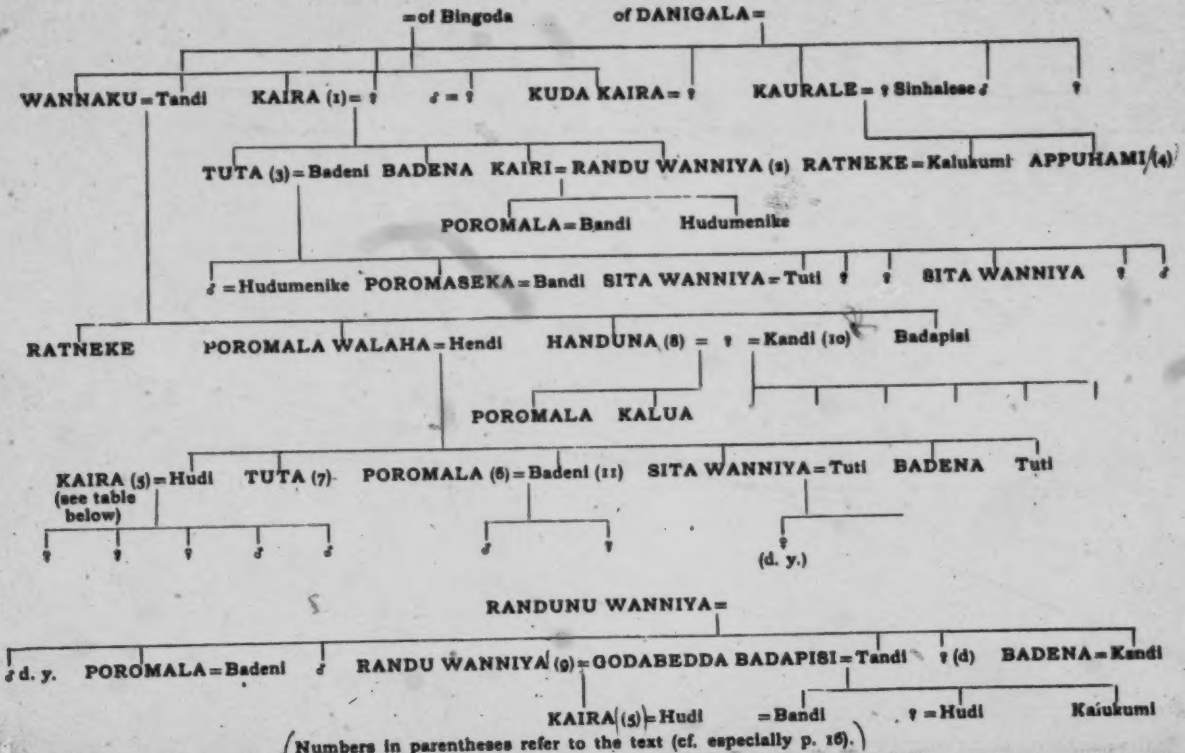
GENEALOGY OF SOME HENEBEDDA VEDDAS.



(Numbers in parentheses refer to the text (cf. especially p. 16).)

C. G. Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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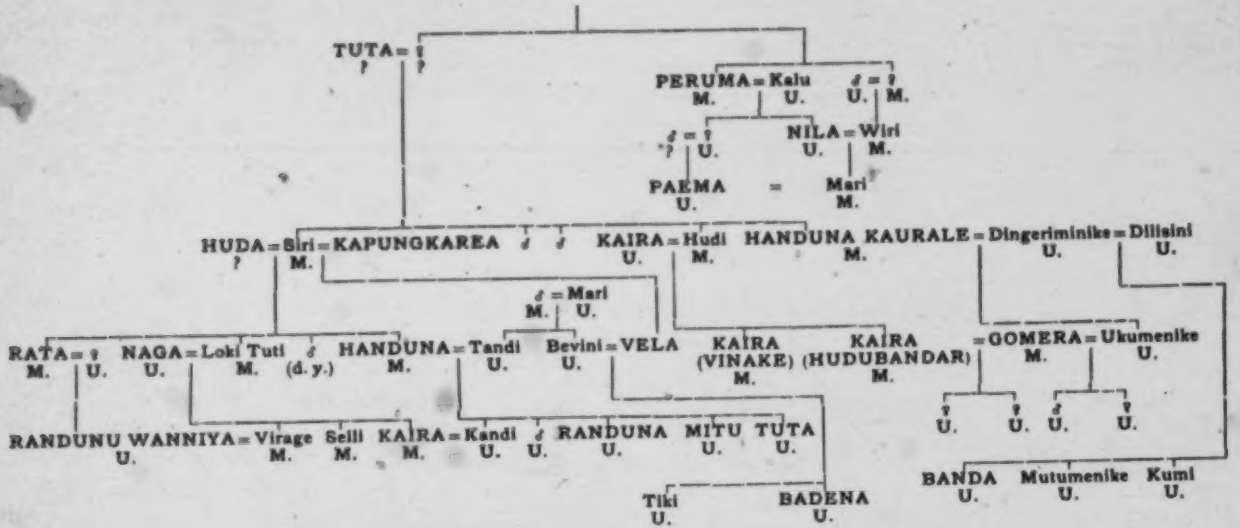
GENEALOGY OF VEDDAS OF SITALA WANNIYA AND GODATALAWA GROUPS.

(ONLY THE IMMEDIATE ANCESTORS OF PAEMA AND MARI ARE GIVEN.)


TUTA = ♀
? ?
PERUMA = Kalu ♂ = ♀
M. U. U. M.
♂ = ♀ NILA = Wiri
? U. U. M.
PAEMA = Mari
U. M.
HUDA = Siri = KAPUNGKAREA ♂ ♂ KAIRA = Hudi HANDUNA KAURALE = Dingeriminike = Dilisini
? M. U. M. M. U. U.
♂ = Mari
M. U.
RATA = ♀ NAGA = Loki Tuti ♂ HANDUNA = Tandi Bevini = VELA KAIRA KAIRA = GOMERA = Ukumenike
M. U. U. M. (d. y.) M. U. U. (VINAKE) (HUDUBANDAR) M. U.
M. M.
♀ ♀ ♂ ♀
U. U. U. U.
RANDUNU WANNIYA = Virage Seili KAIRA = Kandi ♂ RANDUNA MITU TUTA
U. M. M. M. U. U. U. U. U.
Tiki BADENA
U. U.
BANDA Mutumenike Kumi
U. U. U.

Names in Capitals are males, as TUTA; names in small type females, as Siri.
M. = Morane Clan; U. = Unapane Clan; d. y. = died young.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

601 551 such favourite names as Kaira, Poromala and Handuna leads to confusion, not only in the minds of strangers, but also we believe in the minds of the Veddas themselves.

601 551 197 Sinhalese who come in contact with the Veddas find the same difficulty, and the individuals of certain communities, e.g. Danigala, have each a Sinhalese name by which they are known to the peasant Sinhalese, and which in many instances they themselves recognise, so that some Veddas actually know each other by these Sinhalese names, and give them when asked their own names or those of their companions. This is the explanation of the majority of Sinhalese names occurring in the

601 [622 628] genealogies. Again, the fact that among the Veddas there is no system of hereditary chieftainship, or any other custom such as the vendetta, forcing a man to know and remember his grandfathers, cannot but have assisted to bring about the forgetfulness of previous generations, which with the rarest exceptions makes everyone entirely ignorant of his grandparents. In the case of the Danigala and Henebedda Veddas there was an additional difficulty to be met in conducting our investigations. The men

601 614 554 of these communities who for the most part belonged to the Morane and Unapane clans, traditionally the proudest and most important of the Vedda *warugé*, had to a certain extent intermarried with Sinhalese and also with the Veddas of Namadewa clan, a *warugé* which in this part of the country is regarded as of inferior status. They are most anxious to conceal instances of both these classes of marriage and lied freely concerning them and this is the reason for certain lacunae in their genealogies, which in the case of the Danigala community could not have been given at all had not Mr Bibile's position as Ratemahatmaya, i.e. hereditary overlord or "laird" of this part of the country, enabled him to make inquiries from the surrounding peasantry, and thus check, and in many instances correct, the information we obtained from the Veddas themselves.

621 A Vedda community consists of from one to five families who share the rights of hunting over a tract of land, of gathering honey upon it, fishing its streams, and using the rock shelters. But the whole of the community does not commonly move about its territory as one band, it is far more common to find only the

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

members of single families or small groups of two families living and hunting together.

Each family consists of parents and unmarried children to whom are generally added married daughters and their husbands. It is rare to find a married son with his father and mother, and a widow often marries the brother of her dead husband. We may now give some examples of the communities we actually met, premising that where a community such as that of Godatalawa consists of a single family only, this is probably due to depopulation and "hard times."

By consulting the genealogies on pp. 60 and 61 it will be seen that the Godatalawa family consisted of an old white haired man, Handuna, the "senior" of the group, his wife Dilisini, their daughter Kumi, a girl scarcely past puberty, and another daughter, Mutumenike, whom we did not see. Besides these there were Kaira (Hudubandar) and Kaira (Vinake), both sons of the old man's sister Hudi, and therefore actual or potential sons-in-law, and the two young children of the dead Ukumenike, a daughter of Handuna by his first wife Dingerimenike.

The Sitala Wanniya community when we first met them consisted of two families, those of Handuna the "senior" of the group, and his half brother Vela. Handuna had with him his wife Tandi and his two boys, his married daughter Kandi, and her husband Kaira with his sister Selli and the two young children born to Kaira and Kandi. Vela had only his wife Bevini (sister of Tandi) and his two young children. After a few days they were joined by another family consisting of Nila and his wife Wiri, with their daughter and her husband Paema, an unmarried girl and a small boy. The relationship between Handuna and Nila was that their grandmothers were sisters and their mother and father cousins who reciprocally called each other *akka* (elder sister) and *malaya* (younger brother).

Kinship.

The system of kinship was studied by means of the genealogies, and the following list of relationship terms compiled from the genealogies shows that the Vedda system of

601 relationship is a late form of the kind known as classificatory. Further, since the Vedda system closely resembles the Sinhalese the one may have been borrowed from the other.

Muttu, father, grandfather.
Atta, mother, grandmother.
Puta or *tuta*, son, sister's son (fem. loq.), brother's son (m. loq.).
Duwa or *tuti*, daughter, sister's daughter (fem. loq.), brother's daughter (m. loq.).
Munuburu, grandson.
Miniberi, granddaughter.
Aiya, elder brother, maternal aunt's son, paternal uncle's son.
Maleya, younger brother, maternal aunt's son, paternal uncle's son.
Akka, elder sister, daughter, paternal uncle's daughter.
Naga, younger sister, maternal aunt's daughter, paternal uncle's daughter.
Mama, maternal uncle, paternal aunt's husband.
Nendamma, paternal aunt, maternal uncle's wife.
Lokuappu, paternal uncle (older), maternal aunt's husband.
Kuduappu, paternal uncle (younger), maternal aunt's husband.
Lokuamma, maternal aunt (older), paternal uncle's wife.
Kuduamma, maternal aunt (younger), paternal uncle's wife.
Hura, paternal aunt's son, maternal uncle's son.
Naena, paternal aunt's daughter, maternal uncle's daughter.
Baena, sister's son (m. loq.), brother's son (fem. loq.).
Yeli, brother's daughter (fem. loq.), sister's son (m. loq.).

It will be noticed that none of these terms, except *kura* and *naena* when used between individuals of the same sex, are reciprocal.

582 601 The working basis of the Vedda kinship system is the marriage of the children of brother and sister, but not of two brothers or sisters. Thus, when a woman's son marries his mother's brother's daughter the man's maternal uncle (*mama*) becomes his father-in-law and his maternal uncle's children (his *kura* and *naena*), except the girl he has married, become his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. None of these relatives, however, change their kinship term on this account, *kura* and *naena* being only applied to individuals with whom intermarriage is actually possible, or would be possible if the sex of the speaker permitted it. On marriage the girl's paternal aunt (*nendamma*) becomes her mother-in-law, but as before marriage this woman's children remain her *kura* and *naena*.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-8 (1907-1908) 1911
AX8 Vedda AX8

The words *lage eto*, *lato* or sometimes *leto*, the two last being abbreviations of *lage eto*, were often added to relationship terms; as examples of this we may record *mutta lage eto*, *atta lato*, *maleya leto*. We were told that the term in its various forms had the sense "of" or "from my own people," and it would only be used of near relatives, thus Poromala of Henebedda added some form of this word to the terms by which he called almost all his relations. This was not the case at Sitala Wanniya where Handuna (being then in our camp) said that he might use the term *maleya lage eto* when speaking of his brother who was up in the cave. 601

A man usually spoke of his wife as his "woman," *gani*. Addressing her he would probably say *thopi*, "thou." At Henebedda the term *meli* was used. We have no record as to how a Vedda woman of the Sitala Wanniya group addressed her husband; at Henebedda we were told that a childless woman addressed and spoke of her husband as *wani lage eto* but that after children were born he should be addressed (as among the peasant Sinhalese) as "father of so and so" using the name of the youngest child.

At Unuwatura Bubula it was said that not all *naena* and *kura* should marry, the correct marriage being for a man to marry the daughter of his mother's younger brother. We were not able to satisfy ourselves that this rule is especially observed at the present day. Of fifteen marriages between cousins—none of which are marriages of village Veddas—nine are marriages in which the man married his mother's brother's daughter, five are unions between a man and his father's sister's daughter, and one man married a woman who was equally his mother's brother's daughter and his father's sister's daughter, according to whether the relationship was traced on the mother's or father's side. 582

The number of cousin marriages of which we have details is too small to allow the definite statement that marriages between a man and his mother's brother's daughter were especially frequent, though as far as they go they support this idea, which becomes all the more probable when the specially close relationship existing between a man and his mother's brother (cf. p. 67) is considered.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

582 601 Since the children of two brothers or two sisters cannot marry each other, they are not *kuru* and *naena* but call each other "brothers" and "sisters," using the terms for elder or younger brother or sister according to their age[1].

621 224 606 (Every Vedda so readily helps all the other members of his community and shares any game he may kill or honey he may take in so liberal a manner that at first it was difficult to determine who were the individuals who had a special claim on others of the group. Certainly at first sight it seemed as if all game were equally divided among the members of the group, but after a little time we perceived that while an unmarried man looked especially after his mother, a married man's father-in-law had at least an equal claim on his son-in-law and in practice often received more attention, since a man generally spent most of his time with his wife's family.) That the relationship between 606 father-in-law and son-in-law is very close was shown in a number of ways, thus, when discussing children and their bringing up with Handuna of Sitala Wanniya, we asked him whether Veddas [842] preferred to have a son or a daughter, the answer was prompt and decided, "a daughter, for thus a man obtains a son-in-law"; and on another occasion when discussing relationship he stated very decidedly, *amma mama ekei*, mother and mother's brother (i.e. father-in-law) are alike, and pointed out that as a man treats

[1] It may be worth while to say something concerning the alleged intermarriage of brother and sister among the Veddas, since Bailey and Hartshorne believed that such marriages occurred, and the Sarasins considered further investigation advisable. Our conclusions agree so thoroughly with Nevill's that we feel that we need do no more than quote what he has written on this subject. "Much nonsense has been written by persons who ought to have known better, about marriage of Vaeddas with their sisters. Such incest never was allowed, and never could be, while the Vaedda customs lingered. Incest is regarded as worse than murder. So positive is this feeling, that the Tamils have based a legend upon the instant murder of his sister, by a Vaedda to whom she had made undue advances. The mistake arose from crass ignorance of Vaedda usages. The title of cousin with whom marriages ought to be contracted, that is, mother's brother's daughter, or father's sister's daughter, is *nagu* or *nangi*. This in Sinhalese is applied to a younger sister. Hence if you ask a Vaedda, 'Do you marry your sisters?' the Sinhalese interpreter is apt to say, 'do you marry your naga?' The reply is (I have often tested it), 'yes—we always did formerly, but now it is not always observed.' You say then, 'What? marry your own sister naga?' and the reply is an angry and insulted denial, the very question appearing a gross insult: and if put by a Sinhalese, the Vaedda would probably not even reply to him, but turn away with a gesture of contempt." *Taprobanian*, Vol. 1, 1886, p. 178.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

601 576 Terms of respect were commonly used in addressing the aged, thus although *siya* or *mutta* really mean father or grandfather, these words might be used as terms of respect in addressing any old man, and in the same way the terms *kiriamma* (grandmother) or *atta* might be used to any old woman, and we were told that *siya* was constantly used by members of the group in addressing the "senior" or patriarch. An individual of either sex would call his or her father-in-law's father *siya* or *kiriappa*, and a mother-in-law's mother is addressed as *kiriamma*.

Clan Organization.

614 178 It has already been mentioned that the Veddas at the present day are divided into clans (*waruge*); almost every man who calls himself a Vedda can give the name of his *waruge* and this applies even to many village and coast Veddas in whom there is a minimum of true Vedda blood. The clan organization of the Veddas was first pointed out by Nevill, who says: "The Veddas north of the Mahawaeli Ganga have lost their original divisions... and reduced to a few isolated families....The Vaeddas known as coast Vaeddas have abandoned most of their ancestral customs and I cannot even ascertain from them their original name. Vaeddas of the forest districts do not preserve any tradition of relationship with these Vaeddas of the coast[1]." Nevill then gives 614 the following nine names as those of the Vedda clans, to which he adds the Veddas of Tambalagama Pattu, Kattakulam Pattu and Anurajapura as true Veddas though their *waruge* names seem lost.

1. Morana waruge.
2. Unapana waruge.
3. Bandara or Rugam waruge.
4. Namada, Namadana or Nabadana waruge.
5. Ura-wadiya waruge.
6. Uruwa waruge.
7. Kowil waname.
8. Aembala or Ambala waruge.
9. Tala waruge.

[1] *Taprobanian*, Vol. 1, 1886, p. 176.

2; Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
AX5 Vedda AX5
Sinhalese AX4

V 585 291 bind it round him. Many a more civilised wife would rejoice if she could forge new fetters for her husband as binding as these. The utility of the string is simply to keep in its place the scanty rag which constitutes the Veddah costume.* Married or single he must wear one; but when he is married he substitutes for his batchelor's string one of the lady's twisting, and besides its use, it is emblematic of the marriage tie; for as he never parts with it, so he clings to his wife through life.†

V 582 835 I have spoken of the monogamy and conjugal fidelity of the Veddahs as favourably contrasting with the opposite practices among the Kandyans. But there was an ancient custom amongst them which has scarcely yet become extinct, a custom most revolting to every civilized mind. It is that which sanctions the marriage of a man with his younger sister. To marry an elder sister or aunt would, in their estimation, be incestuous, a connection in every respect as revolting to them as it would be to us—as much out of the question and inadmissible as the marriage with the younger sister was proper and natural. It was, in fact, *the* proper marriage, as much so as the marriage between the father's sister's son and the mother's brother's daughter is the most proper that a Kandyan can contract.‡

V 582 835 How far this practice has become obsolete it is hard to say. Amongst the Veddahs of Bintenne it has certainly ceased, and they now regard it with disgust.§ Still it has not very long died out, for many amongst them have seen the children of such marriages, and even cited some by name to me. But I question if it has yet disappeared from amongst the wilder Veddahs of Nilgala. For some time I believed that it was invariably practised there, and

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* It is, in fact, what the Singhalese call the Diya lanoowa, the "water-string," *i. e.*, the string which supports the rag of cloth which natives wear when bathing, and which is "full dress" among the Veddahs.

† The following anecdote is an apt illustration of the value set by a Kandyan on the marriage tie. One of the civil officers of the fort was travelling through his district, explaining the provisions of the new Kandyan marriage ordinance, when a native said to him—"I don't like that ordinance at all." "Why?" he asked. "Why, you tell us we are not to send away our wives, if we like. Now, suppose I bought a piece of rice land, *and afterwards found my wife did not know how to weed!*"

‡ "Every Bedouin has a right to marry his father's brother's daughter before she is given to a stranger; and hence "cousin" (bint' amm), in polite phrase, signifies "wife." Burton's *El Medina Mecca*, vol. iii. A Kandyan would regard such a marriage incestuous, for such first cousins are considered sisters. The term applied to such a female cousin as is mentioned in the text as the proper bride for a Kandyan is "nœna," which in Veddah dialect is the word for "wife." The corresponding word "noora" is the Veddah term for "husband."

§ Mr. Birch informs me that the Veddahs of the Batticaloa district "indignantly deny marrying their sisters."

V 585 [601]

2:Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
AX5 Vedda AX5

English.	Veddah.	Singhalese.	Remarks.
Clouds	Gal pẽriya	Walakula	"Gal" is a stone in Singhalese. In Tamil "kal peria" would signify large stone or rock.
Thunder	Dewõõla andapi	Hena	"Dewõõla" (Singh.), a spirit, a demon, a god; "andapi" (Singh.), has cried out.
Lightning	Ginna wetunu	Widuliya	"Gini wetunu" (Singh.), fallen fire.
The sky	Pombãna	Ahasa	
The earth	Bimi	Bima	
Water	Diya	Diya	This is also used for rain, for which the Batticaloa Veddahs use "wecha" corruption of "wessa" (Singh.), rain.
Heat	Ginna	Grisma	"Gini" (Singh.), fire.
Cold	Ehna	Sitala	I find in "Notes on the Languages of Various Tribes in the Valley of Assam" by Mr. Robinson, inspector of schools in Assam, published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journals, the word "yen" for cold, in the Khamti, Laos, and Siamese; and "aiyang" in the Khari Naga languages.
Man	Minna	Miniha	
Woman	Mehli	Gani	"Mæhæli" (Singh.), an old woman.
Child	Petji Kekula Bilinda Witera	Lamaya	"Petji", corruption of "pencha" (Sing.), a child; "kakula" (Singh.), a bud; "bilindà" (Sihgh.), young—a child; and "witera", a bud; are applied only to the child-spirits—Bilindoo-yak-koo; has been explained before.
Boy	Ammi	Kollà	In the "Notes" before referred to, I find "amie" in the Miri, Abor, and Khari-naga languages, for man.
Girl	Petti	Keli	"Petti" for "penchi" (Singh.), girl.
Father	Appa	Appa	My father, "appa latto"; my mother, "amma latto"; "latto", particle of possession.
Mother	Amma	Amma	
Husband	Hoora	Swamaya	"Hoora" is the Singh. term for that male cousin who is the proper match for a Singhalese girl, viz. her father's sister's, or mother's brother's son. It is traditional that some Veddahs used this term "cousin" when addressing or speaking of the Kandyan kings.
Wife	Nahna	Stri	"Nœna" is the Singhalese term for the corresponding female cousin.
Head	Iya, eecha	Issa	
Eye	Eyeyi, echel	Ehhé	
Nose	Naya	Nahé	
Hair	Eecha kola	Issa kaya	"Echa" for "issa", the head; "kola" (Singh.), leaves.
Body	Bopati	Enga	"Pett" (Singh.), the side of the body; "bo" (Singh.), great. "Pet" is stomach in the Punjabi language.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-S (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

606 All Veddas of a group are so nearly related that, with the exception of the bond of the *mama* and *kaeka* relationship, the only duties which clearly fall to any individual on account of his relationship to others are certain ceremonial avoidances.) These are limited to members of opposite sexes and practically include all the men and women whom an individual of either sex might not marry. There is the most rigid avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and at Godatalawa we had an opportunity of seeing how sternly this rule is carried out. Dilisini is the oldest woman of the community, the wife of the patriarch or "senior" of the group; she is physically unattractive and apparently long past the menopause, nevertheless her son-in-law Kaira who was standing a few paces off would not assist her to rise from the ground, although she had an acutely inflamed knee which was obviously extremely painful. In fact no man may come into any physical contact with his mother-in-law or even approach her closely. Thus, if a man met his mother-in-law in the jungle he would move aside off the track. He may however speak to her in the presence of others, though if he found her alone in the rock shelter he would not enter it until there were others present. Similarly though a man may eat food prepared by his mother-in-law he would not take it directly from her, it would be passed to him by someone else, most probably by his wife. 602 A man avoids his son's wife in precisely the same way, as also his brother's wife, and a woman her sister's husband. It was said that if a man attempted to speak in private to any of these women, she would probably suspect him of endeavouring to make improper advances to her which her kinsmen would resent. A man should also avoid touching the daughters of his mother's sisters and his father's brothers as well as all those girls whom he calls "sisters" if these have attained puberty; he may, however, speak to these relatives. We are not quite clear what is the correct attitude of a man towards his wife's sisters or those of his *nama* whom he does not expect to marry, but we believe that generally speaking any close contact is avoided between adults of opposite sexes, and that practically no man may come in contact with any woman of about his own age except his wife. At Unuwatura Bubula these rules were so

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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rigidly observed that we were told that a man might not assist his sister to rise from the ground if she had fallen down and injured herself. Further, it seemed that he should not see much even of the girl whom he was about to marry until she was handed over to him, though according to our Unuwatura Bubula informants it was not really bad for a man to touch any of his *nanna* and he was allowed to do this in an emergency. At Sitala Wanniya it was said that adult *ãura* and *nanna* should not speak to each other even when it had been arranged that they should marry, and at Omuni we were told that if in the old days a man was seen speaking to an unmarried girl, her outraged relatives would seek to kill him. Children may of course come in contact with their parents to any extent and at any age.

Second marriages are, and always have been frequent, a man often marrying a sister of his deceased wife and a woman marrying one of her dead husband's brothers. We believe that such unions were regarded as both a privilege and a duty, though according to Handuna of Sitala Wanniya a man married his dead wife's sister principally because if he married any one else his children would not be looked after so well. If a widow does not marry one of her dead husband's brothers she may return to her parents, though it seemed that if these were no longer living she would generally stay with her late husband's group, whose duty it would then be to look after her and her children.

With regard to name avoidance, a man does not speak the name of his mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and they also refrain from speaking his name, relationship terms being used instead. Nor does a man commonly speak of his son-in-law or father-in-law, or his brother's wife or sister's husband, except by the appropriate relationship terms; beyond this we would only point out that, as already mentioned, neither man nor woman commonly speaks of his or her spouse by name, and there is a general tendency to avoid the use of names and where possible indicate an individual by a relationship term. In no case did we notice any hesitation in giving the name of any adult which we sought to obtain in the course of our inquiries. The objection to saying a young child's name and the reason for this is referred to on p. 103.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-6 (1907-1908) 1911
AES Vedda AES

with the Sinhalese, although, unless for the purpose of barter, they avoid intercourse with strangers. Their wants, however, are so few, that they rarely emerge from their forests[1].

"I need not say that they are very simple and primitive in their habits. The 'wilder sept' have had too little communication with Sinhalese to have acquired the vices of civilization. The few necessities of life which the forest does not supply, such as steel and iron for their arrowheads and axes, and the very scanty clothing which they wear, they obtain by barter, their wax, and honey, elk flesh and ivory, being eagerly sought after by the neighbouring Sinhalese, or 'the ubiquitous Moors'."

There are no puberty ceremonies for either sex, except among certain Veddas who have been much influenced by Tamils or Sinhalese, among whom the girls are isolated for a short time at puberty. Thus although the following ceremony is observed at puberty by the Uniche Veddas, there is no doubt that it has been borrowed from the local Sinhalese who have a similar ceremony, though according to our information the latter people do not break the pot. When a girl becomes unwell for the first time one of her *nanas* places a pot of water on her head and goes with her to some place where there is a *suga* tree. Here the *nanas* takes the pot from the girl's head and dashes it on the ground so that the pot breaks. The girl is then secluded in a specially built shelter in which she stays until the end of the period, when she washes and returns to her parents' house. During her seclusion she is attended by a girl, always one of her *nanas*, who brings her food in a vessel set apart for this purpose but which is not cooked at a special fire. Among the wilder Veddas no special measures are taken when a woman menstruates, she is allowed to eat the ordinary food, and to sleep in the cave as usual. But among all the village Veddas, and most of those who have mixed at all with the Sinhalese, the menstruous women are strictly isolated, a little shelter being built for them a few paces from the family hut (Plate XX). At Bendiyagalge, where the Henebedda and Kolombedda people were staying at the time of our visit, menstruous women stayed apart at one corner of the cave, they were fed from the pot in

[1] Bailey, *op. cit.* p. 285—286.

[2] Bailey, *op. cit.* p. 291.